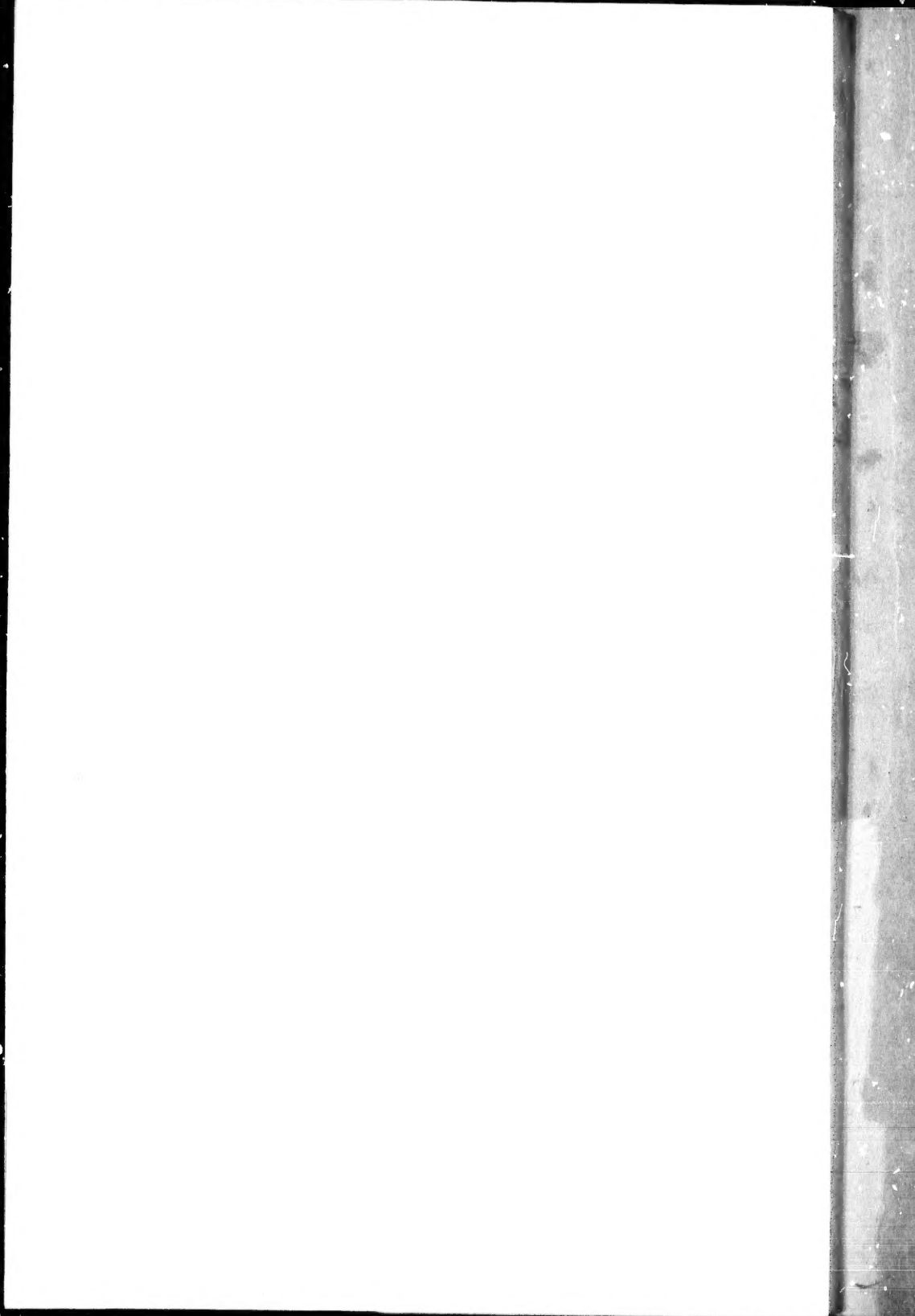




NARRATIVE OF THE CAPTIVITY
OF
STEPHEN WILLIAMS,

WHO

WAS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS AT DEERFIELD,
FEBRUARY 29, 1703-4.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

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WHAT BEFELL
STEPHEN WILLIAMS
IN HIS CAPTIVITY.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL BY THE

POCUMTUCK VALLEY MEMORIAL ASSOCIA-
TION.

STEPHEN WAS A SON OF REV. JOHN WILLIAMS, "REDEEMED CAPTIVE," AND
WAS TAKEN PRISONER AT DEERFIELD, FEB. 29, 1703-4.



EDITED BY GEORGE SHELDON.

DEERFIELD, MASS.

1889.

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INTRODUCTION.

The account of Stephen Williams's captivity has been called a journal, but it is not a diary of events recorded day by day. It bears internal evidence of having been written by the captive boy after his return, and before 1709. The original manuscript was given to our Association by his lineal descendant, Miss Eunice Stebbins Doggett of Chicago. In her interesting letter, transmitting it through Miss C. Alice Baker, she speaks of it as a "precious document, which, from my first glimpse of it, I felt should go to the P. V. M. Association for safe keeping."

The manuscript, in brown paper cover, on which is written by another hand, "Account of the Captivity of Revd. Doctor Williams, wrote by himself," covers sixteen closely written pages, nearly six by three and one-half inches in size. Through the liberality of Charles Deane, LL.D., of Cambridge, the contents are now put into a useful and permanent form.

Rev. Dr. Stephen Williams was a son of Rev. John Williams, the "Redeemed Captive." He was born at Deerfield, May 14, 1693; taken captive February 29, 1703-4; graduated at Harvard in 1713; was settled minister of Longmeadow, in 1716; was interpreter for Governor Belcher in the treaty made by him with the Indians, at Deerfield, August, 1735; was chaplain under Sir William Pepperell in the Louisburg expedition in 1746; and the Canada land campaigns of 1755, under Sir William Johnson, and 1756, under Gen. Winslow. He died at Longmeadow, June 10, 1782, aged eighty-nine.

The donor of this relic is descended from Stephen Williams, through his daughter Eunice, born September 1, 1733, who married, May 1, 1753, William Stebbins of Longmeadow. Their daughter, Eunice Stebbins, married Rev. Joseph Barker of Middleboro. Eunice Barker, their daughter, and Elkanah Doggett, married in 1816, were the parents of Eunice Stebbins Doggett.

A portion of the papers given in the Appendix have been printed in a mutilated form. All are now given *verbatim*—save the substitution of capitals at the beginning of sentences—from the

Introduction.

original manuscript of Stephen Williams, and are a valuable addition to local history.

George Sheldon

Deerfield, March 16, 1889.

WHAT BEFELL STEPHEN WILLIAMS IN HIS CAPTIVITY.

On the last of February 170 $\frac{1}{2}$ the French and indians came & surprised our fort & took it, and after they had broken into our house & took us prisoners, they Barbariously murdered a Brother & Sister of mine, as they did Several of our neighbours. They rifled our house & then marched away with us that were Captives, and set our house¹ & barn afire, as they did y^e greatest part of y^e town, When y^e greatest part of y^e enemy were gone out of town there came some English from y^e next town² y^t drove those indians y^t remained in y^e town away, but they were quickly driven back again by the rest of y^e Arme^y, 9 of y^m were slain as they retreated. Then they marched a little further & stoped for they had several wounded men that hindered them. There they told us y^t if the English persued y^m they would kill us, but if otherwyse they would not, but they quickly proved y^mselves lyars for before they departed from y^t place y^v barbariously murdered a child of about two years old.

There my master took away my English shoes and gave me indian ones in y^e room of y^m w^{ch} I think were better to travail in. Then we marched 5 or 6 miles further: were we took up our Lodging. Then one English man run back to Deerf: which provoked y^m much: They told us if any more ran away they would burn y^e rest. There they slew our negro man. They next morning we travailed about 2 or 3 miles & then they murdered my ever honored mother who having gone over a smal river which water runing very swift flung her down She being wet was not able to travail any further.³ We travailed 8 or 9 mile further & Lodged y^t night. There some of us were Distributed for some had five or six Captives & others none. Then they called y^e Captives together to make a more Equal Distribution, but I remained wth my former master. Here they searched me And took away my silver buttons & buckels w^{ch} I had on my shirt. Before we came to a small river named y^e westriver about thirty miles above Deerf: they murdered 3 or 4 more persons. Wⁿ they came to y^e west river⁴ where they had slays & Dogs wth which they drew there wounded men they travailed

(we thought) as if they Designed to kill us all for y^r travailed 35 or 40 miles a day.^s There they killed near a duszen of women and Children, for there manner was if any loitered to kill y^m. My feet were very sore so y^t I was afraid they would kill me also. We rested on the Sabbath day: they gave my father liberty to preach.^c there we sang a psalm for they required of us a song.

Y^e next day we travailed a great way farther yⁿ we had at any time before. About the middle of the day some y^t were in y^e rere fired at some Geese y^t flew over w^{ch} put y^m into a considerable fright, for y^r thought y^e English were come up wth y^m, then they began to bind the prisoners and to prepare y^msels for battle, but wⁿ they understood w^t y^e matter was they shot a volly for joy, boasting y^t y^e English could not overtake y^m. I coming to my Hon: Father he told me he was taken lame in his Ankel w^{ch} he sprained in y^e fall of y^e year, he said likewise he thought he should be killed, & if I should live to get to Canada to tell y^m who I was &c., w^{ch} then did terrifie me much, but it pleased G. to strengthen him to perform his journey. The next day was a tempestuous day & I froze my great toe of my left foot. The day after w^{ch} was Wednesday my master bid me go down to y^e river wth him (very early in y^e morning) w^{ch} startled me for he did not use to be so early. There y^e river parted & I went up one branch, my father wth my brs. & sisters the other. I never saw my father for 14 months after. I did not eat anything in y^e morning yet must travail all day, yea I travailed till about 9 o'clock at night wthout one morsel of victual. I travailed about 50 mile y^t day and night: for my supper I had one spoonfull of indian corn; in y^e morning 5 or 6 cornels, but must travail. Then we left the river and travailed till about noon on y^e west side of y^e river and yⁿ we came to two wigwams, where were signs of indians but no indians. (in these wigwams they left y^r packs and went a hunting if perhaps y^r might find some mouse buried in y^e snow by y^e hunting indians, but could not find any. I wandered about & lost myself & Hellowed, my master come to me & was very angry wth me threatened to kill me, he lift up the breech of his gun in order thereto, but God kept back his hand, for w^h I desire his name might be praised. Y^e indians will never allow anybody to Hollow in y^e woods. Y^r manner is to make a noise like wolves or any other wild creatures, when they would call to one another,

My master sent y^e indian lad & I to those wigwams but he himself took his gun & went out a hunting. (now y^r were only we

three in company, we had left all y^e army) We made a fire, but had no vituals to dress, only a mouses paunch w^h y^e hunting indians had left. We took y^e paunch and boiled wth out dressing of it, for w^t was in it served for thickening y^e broth. There we passed y^t night and y^e next day till about noon, then there come an indian girl & brought us some mouses meat dried, w^{ch} I thought was y^e best victuals ever I eat. We travailed with y^t indian girl about 10 miles were was two wigwams. My master y^t left us y^e day before was got there, whiles we tarried here y^e french y^t were in y^e army passed by. Within a day or two we travailed seven or eight miles northward to a place where they had killed some moose: where they made wigwams (for y^r manner was when they killed any moose to move to y^m & ly by y^m till y^r had eathen y^m up.) Now there was two Englishmen of our town in company wth me, who came up from y^e Army, to wit Deacon Hoit & one jacob Hix, a souldier. (now my master was not yet come to his own family, from hence he went to look for his family & within a day or two sent for me. I thought this was hard to go away alone (y^t is to any English persons) Here I left Deacon Hoit & J H. Deacon Hoit I never saw more for he was dead before I came from hunting) I went wth y^e messenger and after a tedious days travail we came to my master family. He gave me to his br. wth whom I continued 2 or 3 months thereabouts hunting moose, bears, & beavers, (but wⁿ I first arrived here they were extraordinary kind took care of my toe y^t was frozen, would not suffer me to any work, gave me a deer skin to ly on & a bears skin to cover me withall, but this did not last long, for I was forced to carry such a pack wⁿ I travailed y^t I could not rise up without some help, was forced to cut wood & carry it sometimes a considerable way on my Back. After y^t manner I lived till y^e hunting time was over, without any society but y^{es} inhuman pagans. Yⁿ we travailed with a design to go to Cowass, where was y^e rendezvouze but before we had got quite there we met some indians y^t stopt us, they told us y^t all y^e indians were coming away from Cowass w^{ch} within a day or two came to us. Now y^e reason of there deserting y^e land was this, there came one Englishman wth six of our indians & destroyed a family of indians about 20 miles below Cowass.) Here we staid where these indians met us a month or six weeks, suffered much for want provision for there was not much to be got a hunting then, & if y^t was any thing it was as nothing amongst so many. The cheif of our provisions was roots of several sorts, & bark of trees. Here I

met y^e above said jacob Hix. Deacon Hoit was already dead for want of provision, this Hix he lookt like a ghost, was nothing but skin & bone could scarce go yet had no victuals but w^t he got himself, for he had been at Cowas with y^e indians a planting corn where he suffered much for want of provisions) I was better of it than they, for whiles I was hunting we had meat enough, but neither bread or salt to eat wth it. There was in company now one M^r Bradley of Haverhill, & one hannah eastman, one Daniel Ardery of Haverhill, & one M^r Jones & Margaret Higgens, her maid, who were taken at Northampton farms."

Now from hence we set away for Canada, my master had so much lumber to carry y^e we were forced to carry a pack a mile or two and go back and fetch another, w^{ch} was very tedious, Jacob Hix died at the first carrying place of y^e french river. This was an exceeding tedious march to me we being so loaden, the other indians left us. I suffered much in this journey, for when we came to y^e french river it was as much as our canoe would carry our lumber, y^e water was so shallow. so y^t I was forced to travail afoot on y^e bank without any shoes. My feet were much galled and one or two of my toes almost cut off with y^e stones, I had little or any-thing to eat, My master killed a duck one day in the river & for my part I had y^e guts which I laid on y^e coals without cleaning y^m which seemed a sweet morsel to me, they did eat skins &c., but wⁿ we arrived at y^e Lake we were supplied with fish & fowl, for there is a great number both of fish & fowl, The indian boys do kill the Geese with there bows & arrows they are so bould. Fish can be easily taken with hooks, one day as we sayled on y^e lake two young indian shot a fish with a bullet & took it into y^e canoe, it was as large as I am. I arrived at Chamble in August w^h was about half a year from y^e time I was taken, The french was kind to me, gave me bread which I had not eaten in a great while. They told me my Father & brothers & sisters was got to Canada which I was glad to hear of for I was afraid my youngest brother was killed. Whiles I tarried here a Frenchman came & desired y^e indians to let me go with him, which they did, I went wth y^e frenchman who gave me some victuals, & made me ly down in his couch, which my masters son perceiving told his father who thought he did it to hide me & did design to steal me, upon which he came & fetcht me away and would not let me go to the fort any more for which I suffered. (whiles I was here y^e french dressed my feet y^t were wounded at which y^e indians seemed to be

next.) From here we went towards Sorel—but tarried a day or two near at french-mans house about 3 mile from Shamble, who was kind to me & would have lodged me in his house but y^e indians would not allow it mistrusting he would convey me away in y^e night privately—From hence we went to Sorel & as soon as we had landed, there came a woman a crost y^e river on purpose to bring me some vituals & seemed to pity me, here we tarried a day or two, my master bid me to go to y^e fort a visiting w^h was about four score rod off. I went & at a frenchmans perswasion tarried all night & till next day about noon, when my master came for me, he was very angry with me & after y^t would never suffer me to go to a french house alone. From this place we went to st francis y^e indian fort. My master could not comply with y^r rites & customs, whereupon he went to Albany, & gave me to his kinsman Sachamore George^{io*} (now this George when he was at Cowas told y^e french governour y^t I was his prisoner, whereas he had then nothing to do with me, whereupon y^e governour empowered one Mr: Shamble a captain to buy me who made a bargain wth George, give him earnest money.) now being put into his hands he was not willing y^t y^e french should know it. But having a desire to go to Shamble y^e place where Monsiur Shamble lived took me with him, but within ten miles of Shamble left me alone in y^e woods, while he wth those y^t were wth him went to S^tamble. After he came from Shamble we went a hunting, caught about 30 beavour in y^e brooks which run into ye river betwixt Shamble and Sorel; after we had done hunting we went again to St francis fort were I continued till towards spring, & then removed because y^e small pox was among y^e indians & my masters children had not had it, so y^t he moved.

But whiles I continued there monsieur Shamble heard y^t I was wth Sagamore George, & came to buy me, I seemed to be willing to go wth him, at which the indians were much disturbed & would not let me go because I showed a forwardness to go, & did likewise threaten to kill me, did complain to y^e jesuit who came & said to me, what no love indian they have saved your life &c.

It is no wonder y^t children y^e are small will not speak to y^r friends when y^r come to see to y^m, But they will scofe and deride y^m, because y^e indians have taught them so, will be angry if they do otherwise.

Whiles I lived here I observed y^t some English children would

* This numeral, and similar preceding ones, refer to notes in the Appendix.

scote at me (when before y^e indians whorse than y^e indian children, but when alone they would talk familiarly with me in English about y^r own country &c., whereas wⁿ before y^e indians they would pretend they could not speak english. Here the indians did say something to me about religion but not much, being eastern indians were not zealous as y^e macquas are. [i wth a young warriar &c.?]]

The french governor after he heard I was in y^e country, (because of my father's entreties) was often sending to y^e indians to buy me who were quite wearied out because of y^e many messages he sent. Y^e governor was not willing to give above 30 crowns wheras they stood for 40. At length because wearied out my master went to ye jesu^t & got pen ink & paper & would have me to write to my father (for we had heard y^t he was turned & had 200 pounds a year allowed him which I believe some of y^m believed) after he had got paper he takes another indian with him y^t could speak good English who was to indite for me—y^e substance of y^e letter was this (y^t if he did not buy me before spring they would not sell me afterwards & y^t he must give 40 crowns for me) they carried it to y^e jesuit who could speak English to read, to see whether I had written as y^r ordered me & wⁿ they found I had they were well pleased. My master had a mind to go a hunting & would have taken me with him, but because he had sent such word (y^t they must buy by such a time) he left me at home y^t I might be ready if they should send to buy me. And when captain livingstone¹¹ and Mr. Sheldon¹² where come to Canada my mistriss thought there would be an exchange of prisoners, and lest the french should then take me away for nothing she removed up in y^e woods about half a mile from y^e river, y^t if they came they might not find me. Whiles on a certain day my mistress went to a french house to get vituals, and ordered me to spend this day in getting wood, but it proved a tempestuous day & we had half a cart load of wood at y^e door (which is a great deal for indians to have) so y^t I did not get any. When she came home (being disturbed by y^e french) asked what I had been doing, they replied nothing, at which she was very angry. I will not beat you myself (says she) for my husband ordered me to the contrary, but will tell y^e jesuit, y^e next time he comes (now y^r were not gone so far but that y^e jesuit knew where they were, who often visits y^m) Within a day or two, y^e jesuit comes, she was as good as her word, did complain; he takes me out and whips me with a whip wth six cords several knots in each cord. After a few days he comes again & brings me a letter from my

Father by w^h I understood he was a prisoner as well as I, which I told y^e indians, they said they believed it. He likewise said in his letter y^t y^e governor of New Eng: would take care we should be redeemed.

Whilst I lived here I made about fourscore weight of sugar wth y^e sap of maple trees for y^e indians. My mistress had a mind to go to Sorel & because y^r was a barrel of sap to boil she sent me to y^e sugar place over night to boil it, y^t so she might go in y^e morning. I went and kept a good fire under y^e kettle, little thinking of its coming to sugar, till it was spoiled for want of stirring, for y^e manner is to stir it when it comes almost to sugar; for which they were very angry & would not give me any vituals;—It being now spring we went in canoes to Sorel, & soon as we got there y^e woman y^t brought me vituals across y^e river when I was there before, came & desired y^e indians to let me go to y^e fort, w^{ch} y^r consented to; I went but remembering y^e bad effect of tarrying all night before durst not do so again, without y^e indians leave. I went to y^e indians (and carried y^m some vituals) & asked y^m to let me ly at y^e fort which they granted. I kept here about a fortnight & lay at y^e fort every night. The french were very kind provided vituals for me & would give me some to carry to y^e indians, which pleased y^m well: As we went back to st francis fort we met a french canoe who told us y^t the french governour would come to st francis fort quickly, upon w^{ch} my mistress said to me your time is short you have to live with me. (truly I hoped it was) When we came to st francis we went to masters island where I began to make preparations to plant corn, but before we began to plant the governour came & bought me after a long parley, for 40 crowns. With him I went to Sorel where I met with captain Livingstone & several captives. Capt. Livingstone told me I should go home to N. E. with him w^h revived me very much to think of going home, but the governour quickly altered his mind, said I must not go. From hence I went down to Quebec wth y^e lord intendant. When I came to Quebec I found several English people y^t were prisoners there. One Mrs. Hill took care of me cut my hair for me (now my hair was like an indian one side long and the other short). She got me a shirt & a pair of breeches & a jacket & stockings &c for me. From hence on y^e 11 of May I was sent to live with my father at Chatauriche^{is} while I lived here y^e french were very courteous & kind to me as they were to my Father. This seemed almost home to me, because I was got to my Father, who I had not seen for 14

months. When Mr. Dudley¹⁴ came to Canada my father & I was sent up to Quebeck. When we were at Quebeck Captain Courtemarche¹⁵ took us to his house, entained us very nobly. he said he received kindness at N. E. Whiles we were at Qub: the Seminary a famous building was burnt, & uyon Mr. Dudley, & captain Veteh,¹⁶ petitioning, y^e governour gave me liberty to come home and accordingly I came away on y^e 12 of October 1705 (but I left my Honoured Father & brs. & sisters behind) & after a tedious voyage I arrived safe at Boston in New England, which was on y^e 21 of November 1705¹⁷. And I desire that the name of God may be praised & adored for his wonderful goodness to me in sparing my life when I was as it were at y^e Brink of eternity & that he stayed y^e hands of those y^t took up y^r weapons to slay me with.

finis.

N. B. That while with indians I was in Great Danger of being drowned several times.

[The postscript was evidently written at a later period than the body of the narrative.]

APPENDIX.

[Notes and stories found among the papers of Stephen Williams, which, with the exception of a single sheet, are in his own hand writing of about 1731.]

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME ANCIENT THINGS.

[Murderous attack on the families of Thomas Broughton and wid. Hepzibah Wells^r June 6, 1693.]

Y^v suspect^d mischief before Broughton & Wells family & Capt. Wells laid in wth Cutawak to find out w^t was doing & he suspect^d it, but c^d get nothing.

Several indians trading liv^d over the river at Carters Land & June 6, 1693, in y^e n^t abt midnight y^v came upon y^m & kill^d Thomas Broughton & his wife and x^{dren} 3, & scalped 3 of y^e widow Wells^{rs} Daughters (Lanⁱ laid asleep in y^e chamber not hurt & Nathⁱ Kellogue²⁰ jump^d out of Mrs. Wells chamber window & escaped) 2 di^d of y^r w^{ds} & y^e 3^d lived, & one Holmes laid in y^e chamber at B. & saw y^m and heard y^e people plead for y^r lives, the man plead^d if his own life might not be spar^d his x^{dren} might. Y^v answered in indian, we don't care for y^e x^{dren} & will kill y^m all, and Holmes²¹ lay still and escap^d.

M^{rs} Wells was from home wth a sick child & ventur^d there wth it before the people went wth her [& then she returned, having hid her x^{dren} — erased] & took care of y^e x^{dren} & then hid herself no body came till break of y^e day. [No expert has been able to say with certainty that the above story of Mrs. Wells' night of horror has been correctly deciphered. The same is true of the next sentence.]

Kellogue escap^d, a Beam hung [or being] in y^e chamber w^{ch} y^e indian run agst & Beat him back.

Some of y^e indians came into y^e Town in y^e morning & y^e English sent for y^e young capt and Chedaw w^m y^e indians deliver^d up & y^e wound^d [] Mary (Wells)²² accus^d Chedaw, & he trembling & quivering deny^d it, & Broughton accus^d y^e young capt. he deny^d it. T. Broughton liv^d a day or 2 & dy^d. Ashpelon²³ s^d y^t y^e young woman did not talk ling [talk?] as if she was fit to give an evidence— she seem^d distract^d. These 2 accus^d were car^d to Springf^d & putt into

custody,²⁴ but broke away from prison by y^t help of some Dutchmen as was tho't y^t came y^r to see y^m, & all y^e hunting indians drew off; from that time 'twas suppos'd y^s those y^t did y^e mischief were some Canada indians principally, but y^t some of y^e hunting indians had join'd wth y^m, but y^t y^e generality of y^e trading indians were ignorant of it, & I remember w^t my indian mistress s^d to me ab^t it.

[The following is a fragment, but as it refers to the above tragedy, it is given a place for what it is worth on the chance that some one may be able to interpret it.]

One of the persons kill'd aste^d from one y^t had him in custody, by N. Gillett, y^e fellow had gived out insulting wrd wⁿ in drink & had conspired wth y^e french at y^e great falls, this before B. & Wells family cut off, & tho't to be an occasion of it & wⁿ Warwelets son was killed by Seaost (?) or Tanklin (?) and another man at Merri-mak (?) river spos'd to be an occasion.

[Joseph Barnard²⁵ shot Aug. 21, 1695.]

Joseph Barnard, Henry White, Philip Maltoon [Mattoon] Godfrey Nims, going to mill, came to the place att y^e Drain²⁶ & their horse snuffing & being fright'd, one of y^m ery'd out indians! indians! & y^s turned ab^t & y^e indians fir'd upon y^m & wound'd Mr. Barnard in left hand (one wrist broke to pieces) one Bullet in y^e body, his horse shot down & then N. took him up, & his horse shot down, & then he was mounted behind M. and came of home.

Capt. W[ells]²⁷ the commander of the fort] y^e n^t before, was concerned ab^t indians y^e n^t before, & c^d not sleep & tho't he w^d take care to prevent it, & went out to stop these men, but seeing Mr. B. tho't him a prudent man, & let them go. - [Mr. Barnard died Sept. 6, 1695.]

CAPTIVITY OF DANIEL BELDING.

7^{ber} 16, 1696, John Smead & John Gillett being in the woods, looking or tracking Bees, were besett by a company of French Mohawks. J. G. was taken prisoner & J. S. escaped—the indians fearing a discovery by S. 16 of them hastened away towards the town, and three were left with J. G. It being lecture day the people were got out of y^e meadows, that so y^s might attend y^e lecture, so that y^e enemy came as far as Mr. Dan^l Beldings house,²⁸ that was within gun shot of y^e fort. Mr. B. being belat^d a^{ut} his work was but just got home fr^m the Fiealds & left his cart (y^t was loaded wth corn) & went into y^e house & left his y^e xthren wth y^e cart, & y^e indians rushed upon them & took him prisoner & his son Nath^l ag^d 22 years of age & his daughter Esther age 13 years & kill'd his wife & his sons Daniel & John & his

daughter Thankful, & one of y^m took his son Sam^l from the cart, but he kick^d & scratch^d & bit, so that y^e indian set him down & struck y^e edge of his hatchet into y^e side of his head; he twich^d twice or thrice to pull it out and so left him for dead [illegible] & as he came to himself he look^d up & saw y^m running fr^m him. Bled considerably & brains came out at y^e wound & went in a maz^d condition towards y^e Fort, til he came to y^e little bridge^{so} where fell off & was carr^d 46 Mr. W^m & was so bad as left for dead, but it pleas^d god his life was spar^d & his wound healed & he is yet living;³¹ he was once or twice account^d to be dying & once acct^d as dead, a day or two after his being wound^d.

Abigail Belding another daughter was shot in y^e arm as she was running to the fort, but it is generally tho't y^e bullet y^t struck her came from y^e Fort. Sarah Belding another of y^e daughters, hid herself among some Tobacco in y^e chamber and escap^d.

The people in the fort (being then at the public worship) were alarmed & shot from the Fort & wound^d one of y^e enemy in the fleshy part of the thigh. the ir dians fired at y^e Fort & wound^d one Mr. W^m [Zebediah] as he opn^d y^e gate. the enemy presently withdrew (were not one quarter of an hour in doing y^e exploit) and were followed by some Brisk young men into the meadow, who came within 30 rods of them & fired at them & y^e indians at them again without damage on either side. the indians kill^d some cattle that were feeding in y^e meadows, & a boy that had the care of the cattle hid himself in the weeds & escap^d. the enemy went up Green River & came to their companions that they had left with Gillett. John Smead came into the Town soon after Mr. Belding's family were well off. Y^e 1st night y^e enemy lodg^d in a round hole near the river, above y^e rock, at Nf^d st., where y^e fires were fresh, thence set away for Canada by y^e way of Otter Creek, leaving Connecticut river &c. When they came near Otter creek, they came upon some tracks of Albany indians that were going to Canada, (for in those times y^e indians from Albany were wont to go a-scalping, as they call it, to Canada) they sent out their scouts & were upon the lookout, and at length discovered y^e smoak; and then they flung down their packs & painted themselves & ty^d their English captives to trees & left two men to guard them: & proceeded to y^e business, & having divid^d themselves into two companies, they sett upon the secure company (w^{ch} consist^d of six men) & kill^d two of y^m, took two & 2 escap^d. Among y^e slain was one Uroen an indian known among y^e english (& suspect^d to be a bloody fellow & sometimes mischievous to y^e english). Of their own men one was wound^d in y^e fleshy part of the thigh (as one had been before at D^{fd}.) the prisoners were one

a Seatacook indian & y^e other a young Albany Mohawk. When the skirmish was over, the English were brot up & so they proceed^d on their journey, Mr. B. asked the Seatacook Indian, (now his fellow prisoners) what he thought the enemy would do with them, who reply^d that they would not kill y^e english prisoners, but give some of them to y^e french & keep some of them themselves; but he expected to be burnt himself, but when they came to y^e lake, one rainy night, they made no fire, and some of them lodg^d under y^r canoes, from whom this Seatacook made his escape having loosed himself by some means from his cords &c., and altho he was psu^d the enemy could not recover him &c. As to the young Albany Mohawk, he was kept alive, being of their own nation (the french mohawks went from y^r nation over to Canada for y^e sak of y^e romish religion). Wⁿ Mr. B. & company came to the fort call^d Oso,³² the males were obliged to run the Gauntlet near it. Mr. B. being a very nimble or light footed man, received but few blows, setting out, but the other men were much abus^d by clubs, firebrands, &c.

They arriv^d at Canada 8th 9. Now they found what the Seatacook indian had said to be true, for the indians kept Mr. B. himself & his daughter with them, & gave J. G. & N. B. to the french. J. G. worked as a serv^t to y^e Nuns at their Farm. N. B. worked for the Holy Sisters. On y^e 9th of July following, Mr. B. was sold to y^e french & lived as a serv^t with the jesuits at the seminary; his business was to wait upon them & cutt wood, make fires & tend the garden &c. He accounted himself favorably dealt with. In y^e winter following Co^l Abr^m Schyler with some others came to Canada & brought with them a copy of y^e Articles of peace between England and France & return^d home wth some Dutch Captives. In Aprill following Co^l Peter Schyler³³ & Co^l A. Schyler & the Dutch Dominie, wth some others, came to Canada & the French governor gave liberty to all captives, English & Dutch, to return home, yea allowed them to oblige all under 16 years of age to return wth them, those above y^t age were to be at their liberty &c. These Dutch Gentleman gather^d up w^t captives both English & Dutch they could & returned june 8, & took Mr. B & his x^{dren} and Martin Smith³⁴ with ab^t 20 more English with them, & arrived at Albany in about 15 days, where y^e Dutch showed to him a great deal of kindness, offered to send him home directly to Deerf^d. Co^l Schyler cloth^d him & his x^{dren} at the desire of his brother Mr. John Belding of Norwalk, who paid him for the clothes &c. after about three weeks' stay at Albany, Mr. B. & his children went down the river to N.

York where his B^r had provided a place for his entertainment & from York he went in a vessill to Stamford & from there went to Norwalk to his friends & after some stay there, return^d to D^rd. J. G. got home a little before him by the way of France & so to England, having received great kindness in England.

Deerfield, May 10, 1704, John Allen and his wife going out from the Garrison, about two miles, upon some business, were ambush^d by the indians, who kill^d him outright & took his wife, whom they kill^d about a mile or two from the place.

About the middle of July, 1704, a friend indian was killed at Hatfield Mill. His name was Kindness. The enemy had not opportunity to scalp him. On the same week, Thomas Russell, a young man of Hatfield, (being then a soldier at Deerfield) was sent out into y^e woods with others as a secret, but he rambling from his company, was kill^d by y^e indians.

Some tracks discover^d Deacon Sheldon [also Ensign] wth some others went after y^m & came in sight of y^m, & shot at y^m, & y^v at y^e english at a great distance, & then y^v past along on y^e west side of y^e Town, & fir^d y^r guns in a bravado, & went along up to y^e Northward, & kill^d Tho^s Russell July 20, 1704.

July 30, 1704, one Dr. Crossman with two or three more men were riding in the night between Hadley and Springfield & were fir^d upon by the enemy, who wound^d Dr. Crossman in the arm. This is y^e only time (that I can learn) that they ever fir^d upon anybody travelling in the night.

July 31, 1706, Sam^l Chapin & his Brother went up to their farm (at a place called Chicoby in y^e north part of Springfield) and perceiving some signs of indians hastnd towards the town, but the indians follow^d them about a mile and an half, and then fir^d upon them and shot Sam^l Chapin thro^b the side, but he recovered of his wound: The same company of indians (as is supposed) went to Brookfield and kill^d the widow Taft, as she was milking &c.

July 9, 1708, Samⁿ and Joseph Parsons of Northampton (sons to Capt. John Parsons) being in the woods looking after cattle were slain by the Indians.

July 26, 1708, about 7 or 8 Indians rushed into the house of lieventent Wright (at a place called Scipmuck in Springfield) and kill^d and scalp^d (and they beat their heads to pieces) Aaron Parsons & Barejah Hubbard, who were soldiers, knockt down and scalp^d old Mrs. Wright, who yet liv^d about three months, and then dy^d. Two children of Henry Wrights that lay in the cradle, they knock^d on

the head; one of them dy^d that night, the other recover^d and is still living; they took Henry Wright's wife captive whom 'tis supos^d they afterward kill^d and scalp^d. Liev^t Wright got out of his shop window and escap^d, and a daughter of his ran out at a door (which latch^d on the outside) and pull^d the string after her and so escap^d. The house was not fortified, but had flankers at two corners &c.

August, 1708, a scout of six men about an hundred mile above Deerfield, were fell upon by a party of indians, and one Barber of Windsor was slain, but after he had receiv^d his mortall wound, he got up on his knees & shot the very indian that had shot him, and fell down and dy^d, so that when the indians came to them (which was in a few minutes) hey were both dead lying within a few rods one of another. this account I had from an indian, who upon relating the matter add^d, no *h*, i. e. not Barber, *but his ghost*. At the same time Martⁿ Kellogue jun.^r was taken (which was the second time of his going into captivity) but he, before he was taken, discharg^d his gun, and wound^d an indian in the thigh.

Octob^r 13, 1708, Abijah Bartlett was kill^d at Brookfield, and Joseph Jennings and Benjamin Jennings and John Green were wound^d and a boy of John Wooleot's was taken.

Octob^r 26, 1708, Ebenezer Field of Hatfield, going to Deerf^d, was kill^d near Muddy (or as some call it bloody) (for there it was that Capt. Lathrop and his company were cutt off in philips war,) Brook.

April 11, 1709, M^r Mahuman Hinsdell was driving his teem from Northampton loaded with apple trees, without any fear of indians (the leaves not being put forth) was met by two indians about half of a mile from the pine bridge) who took him prisoner and cari^d him away into y^e west woods. The indians were civil & courteous to him on y^e journey. They arriv^d at Shamble within about eleven days & an half after they took Mr. Hinsdell. From Shamble they cari^d Mr. Hinsdell to Oso^{us}, where he was oblig^d to run the Gauntlett (as they call it) [i. e. to run from the indians who persue & if th when—This is erased] for near three quarters of a mile, but he ran so briskly as not to receive a blow till he came near the Fort when he was met by an indian, who taking hold of y^e line (that was round his neck and hung upon his Back) pull^d him down, and so he was struck by one fellow; after he was got into y^e Fort, he was set in y^e midst of a company and oblig^d to sing and dance, & while thus employ^d, he was struck a very severe blow upon the naked back, by a youth y^t was of such an age as to think y^t engag-

ing in some warlike expedition, but this being contrary to their usual custom (he having perform'd y^e ceremony of running y^e gauntlet) was resented not only by M^r H. y^e sufferer, but by y^e indians in generall &c. From this Fort Mr H. was earl^d to the French Governour who knew him (for this was y^e 2^d time of M^r Hinsdells captivity) and told him he expect^d a full account of news from him, especially about an expedition (which he suspected was on foot). Ye governour told him if he would give him a full account of what news there was in his country, he would treat him with respect, but if he found he did not, he would use him worse than a Devill &c. But M^r H. endeavored as best he could to avoid giving him an account &c. But when M^r Whiting of Bellerica was brot into the country by y^e indians and gave an account of an expedition on foot, M^r H. was taken and put into y^e dungeon &c. [After a while Gen^l Nicholson sent an indian as a spy into y^t country who was to endeavor to draw of y^e indians from the French, and join with Gen^l Nicholson, this plan—this is erased, but gives a clue to the story]. After a while y^e indians desired of the Gouverneur, that they might have M^r H. to burn, (pretending they should fight the better if they could burn an Englishman) and he was delivered to the indians, who were plotting to leave y^e French & go over to Gen^l Nicholson & y^e Dutch, and designed to have made use of M^r H. to have introdu^d them. All was kept private from the French, & M^r Hinsdell was led away towards Montreal from Quebec. The indians communicated their design to M^r H. who was overjoy^d with the account (for he thought of nothing but being sacrificed by them) & encourag^d it, but before they were ready to execute y^t design, a certain indian fell sick, and in his sickness making confession to a priest, discover^d the plot, and so all was dash^d. The fellow y^t was the projector of it (being one that had come from Albany, or from some of the five nations to them) had timely notice, so as to escape to Shamble, where he putt a trick upon y^e officer of y^e Fort, pretending to him that he was sent from the gouverneur, to make what discovery he could of y^e English, upon which y^e officer supply^d him with arms, amunition & provision and he had been gone but a little while into the woods before his psuers (the plot being wholly ript up) came after him, but yet he was gone, so as to escape his psuers. M^r H. was taken from y^e indians and again commit^d to prison, and the next year M^r H. and Mr. Joseph Clesson^{so} were sent to France in a man of war—and in France he met with great kindness, particularly from the Ld intend-

ant at Roshelle, and after a while they were ship^d at Saint Meloes for London, where they met with great kindness especially from Mr Agent Dummer, who interceed^d with the Lords of the Admiralty, who order^d them on board one of the Queens Ships which brought them to Rhode island whence they got home in Safty to their families, after M^r Hinsdell had been absent from his family ab^t three years and an half.

[He returned Oct., 1712. Mr. Hinsdell was the first white man born in Deerfield. His first capture by Indians was Feb. 2, 1704. He died May 2, 1736. The above narrative bears evidence of being taken from his own mouth.]

Aug. 8, 1709, John Clary and Robert Granger were slain at Brookfield—

CAPT. BENJAMIN WRIGHT'S SCOUT."

Rever^d Sir—After Due Regards these May Inform you what Lieut Childs³⁷ and Mr Hoit³⁸ related to me concerning the travails of Capt Write & his Company towards Canada & w^h happened to them about that time it is as follows—

Capt Write & a Small Company of men designing for Canada to destroy y^e enemy, in y^e Beginning of April 1710, we then set out from Deerfield in Number Containing 16, and travailed up Connecticut River which is usually Called 120 Miles. There we discovered two Bark Canos, by reason of that our Capt was pleased to Leave 6 of his men to Ly in wait of y^e Canos Supposing Some Indians would Come there. And then the Capt, with y^e Lev^t & y^e rest of y^e men set forward up y^e White River taking y^e Nor west Branch, following it up to the Head then we Steared to French river & travailing down sd River till we Came to y^e 3^d Falls & y^t we built two Canoes & then set out for the Lake & when we came there the wind was so high y^t we were forced to lye by a Day or two. After that one Evening we espied a fire y^e opposite Side. Supposing it to be indian we then forthwith Im bark & Steared our Course towards the fire and while we was upon y^e water, there arose a terrible Storm of thunder & Lightning which put out the fire y^t we before espied & thro' Gods Goodness we all got safe to land & Drawing up our Canos upon y^e Land turned them up for Shelter till next morning & then we making search for the fire that we afore espied & found it had only been y^e woods on fire. After that we set out for Canada in our Canoes on y^e west side of the Lake till two hours by sun at night & then the wind arose again

which forced us to lye by till next day in y^e afternoon & then we set out for Shamble & coming to a point of Land near Fortlemote, we espied 2 Canos of Indian^a in number 8 coming towards us then we paddled to Land & running up y^e Bank, by this time those indian Canos was got against us, & then we gave them a Salutation out of the mussel of our guns turned one over-board & we still continued firing caused y^m to Paddle away wth all Speed & left yⁱ fellow Swimming about & when they had got out of y^e reach of our guns both Canos got together, and all got into one, & left y^e other wth Considerable plunder in it, & when they was moved off we maned out one of our Canoes and fetched in theirs. And he that was Swimming about we Called to Shore to us, And Lev^t Childs killed him & some of y^e men scalped him. And by Information that we had afterward by the Captives, y^t were then in Canada three were killed at the Same Time. And after that Skirmish, we made the best of our way homeward, & Came to y^e French River after Dark, and so proceeded all that night up y^e French River till we Come to the Falls, and there we Left our Canos and took our Packs upon our Backs and travailed homewards up y^e River, and coming to a Crook that was in the river, we Left y^e river & took y^e nearest Cutt acrost yⁱ Elbow and so come to y^e river again, which was about nine of y^e clock that morning, & there we espied a Canoa coming down y^e river with four Indians in it and a Captive-man, which was taken at Exeter, named William Moody. We Immediately fired on them and killed 2 the first shoot & wounded y^e 3^d & y^e 4th Jumped out & Swam to y^e Contrary Shore, then our Capt ordered some of his men to tarry there & fire at him when he got to Shore, and they did So, & afterwards we was Informed y^t he was so wounded, that in a few Days after he got to Canada, died. Now the rest of the men followed y^e Canoa as it fell Down Stream, and the Capt Called to the Captive to paddle y^e Canoe to Land, but he replied he could not because the wounded Indian would not Let him, with that the Capt hollowed to him & bid him knock in him in y^e head, with that he took up a hatchet to Do it but y^e Indian rising up took hold of y^e hatchet & got it away from him and then catched up the Paddle & Laid it on his head & they skuffling together turned over the Canoe and parted in the water, & the Indian Swam to the Contrary Shore, As he got out of the water we pined him to the Bank with seven Bullets. The Captive also Swimming towards us, but being very weak fell down a great pace & Cried out he should Drown before he Could

get to Shore, with that Lient Wells flung down his gun upon y^e Bank & run Down & Catched up a pool & held out to him & he catched hold of it & y^e Lieut. drew him to Land. And John Strong being upon the Bank heard y^e sticks Crack behind him & Looked round & cried out Indians & was Immediately fired upon by them & was wounded in the face & breast with a Charge of Cutt Shoot, but not mortal. With that Lieut Wells sprung up the Bank to get his gun & was mortally shot. Now the men being scattered along upon the Bank but the Capt being with y^e captive y^t came to y^e shore Immediately examined him how many Indians there was, he made answer 19 being in 5 Canos 2 being down stream from that which we shot upon, And 2 above, having been at Exater took 4 captives (men), which they there had with them and those 2 canos y^t was passed by was y^e Indians y^t made y^e first shoot upon us.

And we also received Several Shoots from those y^t were above us, which Landed on y^e other side of the River. Now we being under no advantage to defend ourselves we every one made y^e best of our way and shirked for our Selves & in a short Time Capt Write & 5 of his men got together, three more yet missing. The next Day came 2 more to us where we hid some of our Provisions & there waiting some hours for the other man. But he Came not while we tarried there, whereas Capt. Write thinking best to leave a Suitable quantity of Provisions and other necesseries in Case he ever came it might be of service to him in his journey homeward, It being one John Burt of Northampton. Then seting forward on our Journey homewards & Came to our Canoas that we left on White River then we got into them & came down y^e river to y^e mouth of it, where we left 6 men formally mentioned in our History. And finding them gone, then we set forward homeward & after we had got home, those six men formally mentioned Informed us w^t they had Litt of 6 Days after we left them. These 6 men espied a Cano of 2 Indians Coming Down the River & called to them not knowing but y^t that they was Seattcooks but they refused to come to them & paddled to the contrary shore. Then they fired wounding one, but they geting to the shore Left ye Canoa & plunder. After that y^e men made y^e best of their way home And some Time after they were got home was Informed y^t they were Seattcooks.

Now returning to our former Story, having an account of two of those Captives y^t were with y^e indians that we Litt of on y^e french river, are now returned home, & gave us an account y^t we then

killed 4 Indians. And Moody that we had taken from them we lost again, we being then in such a fright, every one took to his heels, But moody being so weak & feeble was not able to follow, now after this the Indians all gathered together on the other Shore, & Moody seeing them hallowed to them to fetch him over & one came & after they had got him over they Burnt him on the Spot. We was informed also y^t wⁿ the Indians got to Canada they Burnt one more of these Captives Andrew Gilman by name. Now to say a little more concerning Burt, what became of him, having some Transient stories y^t a man's bones, and a Gun was found by some Indians above y^e Great Falls upon Connect^t River about 60 miles above Deerfield, which some think was sd Burt.

The number of Days we was taking this march was 32, and the men's Names are as follows:

Capt Benjⁿ Write of North^{ton}.

Levi^r John Wells, killed, of Deer^d.

Henry Write, of Spring^d.

Timothy Childs, of Deer^d.

Jonⁿ Hoit, of Deer^d.

Jabez Olmstead, Deer^d.

John Burt, Lost, North^{ton}.

Jose^b Ephraim } Indians of Natick.
Thomas Pagan }

The other 6 men y^t set out wth us y^t we left at y^e mouth of White River are as follows:

Eben^r Severance of Deer^d.

Math^w Clesson of North^{ton}.

Thomas McCrann^e of Spring^d.

Joseph Wait of Hatf^d.

Josp. Root of Hatfield.

The other we cannot at present call by name.

[John Strong of Northampton was with Capt. Wright, and probably John King of Nhn was the sixth left at White River.]

CAPT. THOMAS BAKER'S SCOUT.

Another Story related to me by Livet Childs Concerning Capt. Bakerⁿ & his Company, and what happened to them in their march is as follows:

April the Beginning Capt Baker, Lieut Samⁿ Williamsⁿ Lieut Martin Kelloggⁿ with 28 men set out from Deerfield up Connect^t River Designing for Cowass on purpose to Destroy a family or two

of Indians that they heard was there. But when arrived found no signs of any enemy there. Then afterwards we took our journey for merrinack & coming upon it at y^e head of the west Branch following of it Down one Day, & then finding two Indian Tracks which went down the river we continuing our Course next Day Down y^e river after them, towards night finding the Tracks of 4 more & then encampt. The officers next morning thought it best to send forth a Small Company of our men to see what they could Discover And in about two hours they returned again & Informed by what they had Discovered that there was a party of Indians not far off. Then the officers took 3 of there Soaldiers to make further Discovery ordering the rest of the Company to Lye still & be very Carefull & make no rout till they returned and in about 3 hours they returned & Informed their Company that they had discovered some Wigwams. Judging [three (?) of them to be Indians with families, with that y^e whole Company moved in about half a mile of them, and then finding y^e wigwams to be on y^e [bank ?] of the river and a swamp Lying upon the back side. And Judging it to be best to Devide y^e Company into two parts Livt Williams & Livt Kellogge taking one half & Capt Baker y^e other. Agreeing also y^t one part should go round y^e Swamp up Stream, and the other part Down Stream. Soon after we parted the Company of Capt Baker espied a straggling Indian Coming directly towards them, with a hatchet Stuck in his Girdle & a Stick on his Shouldier, which we judged was a going to peal Bark. Now we knowing that we should be Discovered was obliged to fire him Down & did so, now many guns being Discharged at him, Alarmed y^e other Indians & caused the tother part of the men to come back again. After that word was given out to run to the wigwams. After running a Little way Litting of some Indian dogs which we following lead us to the wigwams upon the river Bank & there finding 12 Indians Jest entred into their Canoes to Cross the river & espying a number of Squas & Poposes on the other Side running into the woods, but we firing briskly on them that was on y^e water, Soon turned the bulk of them out of their Canoas, and the other Jumped out and Swam to the Contrary Shore. So we judged we had killed 8 or 9 and afterwards was informed by Some Easterd Captives y^t we did kill 9. After the skirmish was over, we viewed their habitation & judged that they had Lived there two or three years, by the quantity of Furs we found there. The Place where we Litt of these Indians, was where the two Branches of

the river come together." After this we returned to the place where we left our Packs, with a small quantity of plunder and there we packed up and Steared our Course for Dunstable & in --- Time reached it, from thence we travailed to Chensford, And the People being very kind to us. Our Capt with a Waiting-man, went to Boston to Inform his Excellency Gov Dudley of his good service done the Province, ordering the Lient to take the men and march to Marlborough & there to wait for him & in a little time he Came and orderd us to march homewards, from thence we march-ed to brookfield which was a very hard Day's travail by reason of some men being very Lame, from thence we marched to Hadley, from thence to Hatfield, from thence to Deer^d w^h we first set from. Finis."

[On a scrap of paper in the hand writing of Stephen Williams, is found the following:

"Capt. Baker & my Brother's expedition to Cowass & over to Merri-mack, where they killed my old master Wottanammon in April, 1712."]

July 22, 1710, John Grosvenor, Ebenezer Howard, John White, Benjamin and Stephen Jennings and Joseph Kellogue slain in the meadows at Brookfield.

Aug. 11, 1711, Samuel Strong of Northampton wth his son Sam^l going very early in the morning into y^e Field was ambush^d by a party of indians, who fir^d upon them and kill^d and scalp^d the young man and wound^d the old gentleman, and then took him captive and carri^d him to Canada; but he is since return^d home again.

July 29, 1712, Benjamin Wright a lad, son to Joseph Wright of Scipmuck in Springf^d being in a meadow at scipmuck, was taken by the indians, and afterwards kill^d in the woods as was sopus^d.

July 30, 1712, a scout of men that were out about Deer^d being very careless & noisy, as they travell^d were fir^d upon by a party of indians, who kill^d Samuel Andross of Conn., and took Jonathan Barrett, and William Sanford captives.⁴³

June 18, 1724, a small company of indians fell upon some men in Hatfield at a place call^d mill swamp about four miles from town, and kill^d Benjamin Smith, and took captive Joseph Allis, and Aaron Wells, the former they kill^d within a day or two &c.

LIEUT. TIMOTHY CHILDS WOUNDED.

July 10, 1724, Story of Lievt Child's³⁷ relating, concerning his being wounded at Deerfield is as follows—

He Being at work with 3 men & 2 boys Northward of the Town, Capt Wells³⁷ working with a Company of men farther Northward Still with 4 guardsmen, having done his work a Little before me, came by and I Desired him to wait a few minutes and so I would go with him home, now he told me he had a Little piece of [work] to do in harrow meadow, West of the Town Plot. Then I desired him to Le^{ve} me the guards that he had with him, of which two men tarried, and i. a Short Time we finished our work and mounted our horses to go home & came to y^e South End of Pine Hill when the Rode Carried us Close to the Hill, there being fired upon by three indians that were Laid the Rode, Myself was wounded in both Shouldiers & in one finger, which was so broken that it was forced to be cutt off which was on my right hand & y^e same Shouldier the Ballett going so far thro that it was cutt out on y^e other Side, which has very much Disabled my Arm from almost any Service: There be ng one man behind me at the same Time, Sam^l Allen⁴⁴ by Name, who also was wounded by a Shoot going into his Buttock. My horse being also shoot in y^e Neck made him Spring forward, so that he threw us both off, but finding that we had y^e use of our Leggs soon made our escape, Calling to the rest of y^e men to face about, with y^t they turned and fired upon y^e Enemy. With that they ran down where we had fallen of y^e horse, and catched up Allen's hat. People being alarmed in the Town came out with great Speed. The Indians running acrost y^e hill passed over y^e river at Cheap-side & soon got to the woods with out any Damage. Afterwards our people finding 3 packs supposing them to be the Packs of these same Indians which fired upon us which were in Number three. Finis.

Here is also an account of Mr. Atherton in this paper, which Levit Childs³⁷ somewhere found, Desiring me to write it over again, to hand it to you. And after i had perused it, I thought it not worth a while to Draw it all over, so I told him it was best to send it down to you, whereas he consented, provided I would write to you & also desire y^t you would lay it up safe, so that the person may come by it again, for he sets much by it, It being, as I understand, his father's own handwriting.⁴⁵

I did Design also to take down another story from Capt. Wells,³⁷

but he putting it off from time to time, has been the cause of my Neglect; but as soon as he will attend it I will gladly do it. I'm apt to [suspect that?] ye capt [thinks?] that you have got it already, which makes him so Little concerned about it. perhaps you can soon tell whether you have it or no. The story is concerning w^t happened to him & his Company between Northfield & Deerfield.⁴⁶ Thus much Sr. from your humble Serv^t

EBEN^r GRANT.

P. S. My humble service to M^{rs} Williams.

DEACON FIELD WOUNDED.

August 25; 1725, Deacon Sam^{ll} Field, Deacon Sam^{ll} Child, Sergt Joseph Seavrance, John Wells and Joshua Wells, and Thomas Bardwell, went over Deerf^d river to go to Green River Farms,⁴⁷ and they took a cow with them, designing to put her in a pasture; the indians ambush^d them, but Deacon Child driving the cow discover^d them and cry^d out indians; John Wells discharged his gun at an indian who fell upon his firing. Deacon Field being at some distance from the company rode towards them, but the company being before separated from one another, retreated towards the mill,⁴⁸ and at a considerable distance from the hill they halt^d, y^t John Wells might load his gun, and then the indians fir^d upon them, and wound^d Deacon Sam^{ll} Field, the ball passing through the right Hypocondria, cutting off three plaits of the mysenteria; a gut hung out of the wound in length almost two inches, which was cut off even with the Body; the bullet passing between the lowest and the next rib, cutting at its going forth part of the lower rib, his hand being close to his body when y^e ball came forth, it entered at the root of the heel of y^e Thumb, cutting the Bone of the fore finger, resting between y^e fore and 2^d finger; was cut out, and all the wounds thro' the blessing of God upon means were hea^d in less than five weeks by Doctor Thomas Hastings,⁴⁹ whose death since y^e war is a great frown upon us &c.

[Letter from Dr.⁵⁰ Stephen Williams of Longmeadow to President Wheelock⁵¹ of Dartmouth Coll.]

"L. M., March 13, 1781.

Reverend Dear Sr.: M^r Smith call^d at my house (and s^d it was at your desire) and Gave me an acc^t of your state & y^t of your connections & of your Seminary & knowⁿ of your vicinity—he appears to be an intelligent man—I thank you y^t he was desired to call and to

inform me of these things he did: I conclude he will be able to inform you of what is remarkable this way & shall not pretend to do it myself, but w^d inform you that thro' Gods great mercy I do yet live & am able to preach. I have lately sprained my foot & was oblig^d to keep in house seven weeks Sundays y^t I was carri^d to y^e House of God.

We in the family are comfortable & Mrs. W^{ms} joins me in respectful & affectionate salutations to you & your Hon^d mother & all in near relation to you, whose welfare I heartily desire and pray for. I am your affectionate humble sev^t, S. W.

Write.

P. S. I would let you know that Last Sabbath was 77 years since I was taken Captive.⁹⁹ My text was ps. 37:5.

Every traveller is not equally intelligent wth M^r Smith, so I hope to hear from you (or some of your connections) by letters, w^{ch} are wont to be ref^rring to me. S. W.

Rev. president Wheelock."

NOTES.

(Referred to by numbers in the text.)

1. This house was built for Mr. Williams, by the inhabitants of Deerfield, as part of the encouragement for him to settle among them as minister under the following vote, passed September, 1686:

"That they will build him a house : : 42 foot long, 20 foot wide, with a lentoo on the back side of the house and finish sd house: to fence his home lot, and within two years after this agreement to build him a barn."

This house and barn with all their contents were burned. They were replaced by the town in 1707, on the return of Mr. Williams from captivity. Mr. Williams died here in 1729; the house was repaired, about 1754, by his son, Maj. Elijah, who died in 1771, leaving it to his son, Esq. John Williams, John sold it, in 1789, to Consider Dickinson. Mr. Dickinson died here, Dec. 4, 1854, aged 94, leaving the homestead and other estate to his widow Esther (Harding). She died June 15, 1875, aged 85. By her will, the old home lot, with other property, was devoted to the establishment of a free Academy and Library. The building for these covers part of the ground on which stood the house in which Stephen was born, and from whence he was carried into captivity. The house, built in 1707, was removed a few rods west of the new Academy, where it now stands in perfect condition on the old home lot.

2. Hatfield, twelve miles south. Men also came from Hadley and Northampton; the whole party numbered about forty, and were joined by about twenty from Deerfield. Of the nine killed, four were from Hadley, three from Hatfield, and two of Deerfield.

3. This place is at the foot of Leyden hills, very near the north line of Greenfield. The P. V. M. Association has secured an acre of land there, and has placed a granite monument to mark the spot where Mrs. Williams was murdered. This was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies, August 12, 1884, the anniversary of her birth.

4. Just north of Brattleboro village, at the mouth of West river.

5. On the frozen Connecticut river. A thaw had set in since they left Deerfield, and this haste was probably in the fear of the breaking up of the river.

6. At what is now Williams river. Stephen's father says, in The

Redeemed Captive: "The enemy who said to us sing us one of Zion's Songs, were ready, some of them, to upbraid us, because our singing was not so loud as theirs."

7. David Hoyt, ancestor of the Connecticut Valley family of Hoyts. This *Cowass*—i. e., place of pines—was near the mouth of Wells river, probably in the present town of Newbury, N. H.

8. This "Englishman" was Caleb Lyman of Northampton. He left Hatfield June 7, 1704, with two Englishmen and five Mohegans. On the 10th, one Englishman was injured by an accident, and the other turned back with him. The rest continued north until the enemy was discovered. On the night of the 14th, they surprised a wigwam with nine inmates; they killed four men, a lad of 14, and a child of 2. They took a woman captive, and after obtaining what information they could about the Indians at Cowass, killed and scalped her. Two Indians escaped, one badly wounded. With what plunder he could gather, Lyman set out for home that night, and arrived June 19, with six scalps, and claimed the bounty. Let us be thankful that the baby's scalp was not presented. For this service Lyman secured £21, and the five Mohegans £50. They claimed £500 scalp-money and the next summer, Owaneco, son of Uncas, refused to let his men go out, because this was not paid. It seems that £40 was given to them as a compromise.

From this relation, it does not appear that the methods of the Puritan English and Indian Scouts were any less savage or merciless than those of the Romish French and Indian scouts.

Lyman's mission was to ascertain the condition of things at Cowass, where rumor said the enemy had a strong fort, from which incursions could easily be made on our frontiers. This object was frustrated by this discovery of the Indians 20 miles below. The important ultimate result of Lyman's attack, as seen in the text, was not known here until the return of Ensign Sheldon, from Canada, in May, 1705. Meanwhile, there was an active correspondence between the Governors of Massachusetts and Connecticut, about raising 300 men in Massachusetts and 200 in Connecticut, who were to march to Cowass and break up the nest, where the hornets whose stings were felt on our frontiers were supposed to be hatched. This project was given up only when the facts were known.

9. Called by the Indians Pascomuck. Sieur de Montigny, with about 70 French and Indians, destroyed this hamlet, May 11, 1704, and these were two of the captives then taken. Mrs. Bradley was wife of Joseph Bradley of Haverhill, and was now in her second captivity.

10. Sagamore George was a chief of the Pennakooks.

11. Capt. John Livingstone, son of Robert of Albany. He was sent by Gov. Dudley, with Ens. John Sheldon, on his first journey to Canada. Livingston, in his youth, spent a year in the family of Gov. Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut, and, in 1701, married Mary, his only daughter. He was captain of a company in the service in Massachusetts, in 1704, and the same year was sent by Gov. Dudley as commissioner to the Five Nations. His second wife was Elisabeth, daughter of Mrs. Sarah Knight, whose journal of travel in New England has been published. He died in England, without issue, about 1720.

12. Ensign John Sheldon from Deerfield, son of Isaac of Northampton, born Dec. 5, 1658. He was the builder of the historic "Old Indian House." This was the first of his three visits to Canada for the redemption of captives. He went of his own motion, but with letters from Gov. Dudley and accompanied by Capt. John Livingstone, and John Wells. He, with his companions, left Deerfield for Canada, about Dec. 24, 1704, on snow shoes, going by the way of Albany and the Lakes. He returned the last of May, 1705, by the same route, escorted by Capt. Courtemanche, with 8 soldiers, and bringing back his two sons—Ebenezer, 13, and Remembrance, 12—, Hannah (Chapin), the wife of his son John, and Esther, daughter of John Williams.

With John Wells of Deerfield and Joseph Bradley of Haverhill as attendants, Dudley sent him again as a commissioner for the exchange of prisoners. The party left Deerfield in January, 1705-6, by the old route and arrived at Montreal early in March. May 30, he took ship-ping at Quebec, and arrived at Boston, August 1, 1706, with 43 released captives, one of them his daughter Mary, 19 years of age. The next year, Ensign Sheldon was despatched a third time. He left Deerfield April 17, 1707, with Edward Allen and Nathaniel Brooks of Deerfield, and Edmund Rice, probably of Westboro, as attendants, and reached Quebec May 9. He returned with seven captives, reaching Albany Aug. 24, being escorted by Monsieur de Chambly, with six soldiers.

13. Doubtless, Chateau Richer, now a place of 2000 inhabitants, on the St. Lawrence, 15 miles below Quebec.

14. William, son of Gov. Dudley, by whom he was sent with dispatches to Gov. Vaudreuil, in a vessel commanded by Capt. Vetch; Courtemanche went with him.

15. Monsieur Courtemanche was a Canadian of high rank. He accompanied John Livingstone and Ensign Sheldon, on their return from Canada, May, 1705, being sent by Vaudreuil as a commissioner for exchanging captives. He was well treated by Gen. Dudley, but nothing was accomplished in the way of exchange of prisoners. Dudley's

son William returned to Quebec with him by sea in a vessel under Capt. Vetch, who also carried a hogshead of wine as a present from Dudley to Vandreuil.

16. Capt. Samuel Vetch was a Scotchman by birth. He married before 1701 a sister of Capt. John Livingstone. He was much employed by Dudley; was Col. in the Canada expedition of 1709; was afterwards Gov. of Nova Scotia. He died in London, 1732.

17. His brother Samuel, Jonathan Hoyt, and six or eight others, whose names are not found, came home in the same vessel.

18. Broughton lived on the site where Elbert Amidon built the house he now lives in, and Widow Wells where Jona. Ashley now lives.

19. She was widow of Lieut. Thomas Wells, the first military commander of Deerfield. His commission, signed by Andros, hangs in Memorial Hall. The daughters were: Mary, aged 21, Sarah, 19, and Hepzibah, 9. The latter recovered, married John Dickinson of Hatfield and lived to be 87. She was grandmother of Consider Dickinson—our noted "Uncle Sid."

20. Son of Joseph Kellogue, of Hatfield, born, 1669.

21. Probably John, son of John Holmes of Northampton.

22. Mary Wells and her mother were both killed in the raid of 1704; Mary in the town, her mother on the march.

23. An Indian named Ashpelon was leader of the party which made the attack on Hatfield and Deerfield, Sept. 19, 1677. This was probably the same man, but he is not elsewhere noticed in history.

24. The imprisonment of these Indians was a stirring event in the history of the times. There was great excitement among the Indians about Albany, as well as among the Iroquois. An extended correspondence followed between the Governors of New York and Massachusetts.

25. Joseph Barnard, son of Francis of Hartford and Hatfield, was born in 1641, and settled in Deerfield, where he was Recorder for the Proprietors of the Dedham Grant, and the first Town Clerk.

26. Where the road from the Mill to the Bars crosses Barnard's brook. It is now called Indian Bridge.

27. Capt. Jonathan Wells, the boy-hero of the Turners Falls fight; he was son of Thomas of Wethersfield and Hatfield, born 1659, died at Deerfield, 1739, where he was for many years Military Commander and a Justice of the Peace.

28. Mr. Belding's house stood on the lot next north of the Pocumtuck House, which was sold to Joseph Stebbins, in 1761. Belding came back and died here in 1731.

29. At the foot of Meeting-house Hill, where Grange Hall and Philo Munn's shop stand, the land lay low, and a brook ran across the street which was crossed by the bridge mentioned in the text.

30. Rev. John Williams. There was no surgeon or doctor then living here. It was quite common for the ministers of early times to practice chirurgery and medicine among their people.

31. Samuel Belding was 9 years old at this time. He lived in Deerfield until his death, Dec. 14, 1750. He doubtless gave Stephen Williams an account of the attack.

32. Oso fort, as it was called by the Deerfield captives, has recently been identified by Miss C. Alice Baker as that of the Mission of Sault au Kecollet.

33. Col. Peter Schuyler was the distinguished mayor of Albany. He was intimately acquainted with Indian affairs and often gave seasonable notice of intended raids on our frontier. A warning letter was sent to Deerfield in 1703. He was a personal friend of Rev. John Williams, and there is a tradition, or story, abroad that he caused the portrait of Mr. Williams to be painted at Albany. This "tradition" may have originated in the fertile brain of Rev. Eleaser Williams, of "St. Regis Bell" and the "Dauphin" fame.

34. Martin Smith was among the first settlers at Deerfield, being here in 1673; he was captured by Indians at Wapping, Oct. 13, 1693; returned Dec., 1692; perished in the disaster of Feb. 29, 1703-4.

35. Clesson was captured by De Rouville, June 22, 1709. He was son of Mathew of Northampton, who is said to have come from Ireland. Joseph settled at Deerfield, where he was a prominent military man; was a lieutenant in Father Ralle's War; a captain in the last French war, and died June 4, 1753, aged about 70.

36. Benj. Wright was son of Samuel of Northampton and Northfield, born, 1660; was a famous partisan officer; he died, 1743.

37. Timothy Childs, son of Richard of Barnstable, born Sept. 22, 1686. He settled in Deerfield; married Widow Hannah Sheldon, one of the Deerfield captives. They were ancestors of the Pittsfield family of Childs. He died Feb. 20, 1776.

38. Jonathan Hoyt was one of the Deerfield captives who came back with Stephen Williams. He was afterward active in the Indian wars, and was commander of the fort in Deerfield, 1746. His Indian master often visited him at Deerfield. He was born April 6, 1688, and died May 23, 1779.

39. Capt. Thomas Baker of Northampton. He was born about 1683, and died in 1753. He was one of the captives taken at Deerfield, Feb. 29, 1704, and one of four who escaped and reached home in June, 1705. In 1714, he led the party which escorted John Stoddard and Rev. John Williams to Canada, as Massachusetts Commissioners to treat for the return of prisoners; while there, occurred the romantic episode of his marriage to Madam Le Beau, *nee* Margaret Otis, which is so fully and so well treated by Miss C. Alice Baker, in her paper before the P. V. M. Association, upon Christina Otis.

40. Brother of Stephen Williams. He was born Jan. 24, 1689-90; was a captive of 1704; was leader of a party escorting French prisoners from Deerfield to Canada in 1712; was elected Town Clerk in April, 1713, and died June 30, of the same year.

41. Kellogg, was son of Martin, born in 1686; was a captive of 1704, and escaped in June, 1704, with Thos. Baker, John Nims and Joseph Pettee; was taken again in 1708. He learned the language of the Indians and the French. On his return, he was employed as interpreter, and in that capacity was sent with Stoddard and Williams to Canada in 1714; was teacher of Indian boys under the Hollis Fund. He died Nov. 30, 1743. His brother Joseph and sister Rebecca—captives, 1704—, were also employed by the goverment as teachers and interpreters. Joanna, another sister, married an Indian, at Cagnawaga, and never returned.

42. One of them since called Bakers river.

43. They were Connecticut soldiers, under Sergt. Thomas Taylor.

44. He was killed by Indians, while bravely defending his children from the Indians, at the Bars fight, August 25, 1746.

45. Rev. Hope Atherton, minister of Hatfield, son of Gen. Humphrey Atherton, born, 1646, died June 8, 1677. He was chaplain in the Turners Falls expedition, and wrote an account of his singular experience with the Indians, after being lost from the command in the retreat. This, without doubt, is the paper referred to here.

Another paper has been discovered, referring to this same document, which is given here, in hopes that it may afford a clue through which some interested person shall recover the original narration, or a copy.

Henry R. Stiles, M. D., from No. 1, Wall St., N. Y., writes Sylvester Judd, Sept. 19, 1857, giving him a copy of a letter sent to President Stiles, his father, by Rev. Stephen Williams. With Williams's letter was a copy of the paper drawn up by Hope Atherton in regard to his own adventures after the Falls fight; this paper was given Will-

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iams by the only son of Atherton; the copy was returned to Judd. Where is it?

Stephen Williams writes President Stiles, June 8, 1781: "Jonathan Wells himself told *me* that the Indians *told him* that after the Falls fight, that a little man in a black coat, and without any hat, came towards them, but they were afraid and ran from them [him?] thinking it was the Englishman's God."

46. The fight, or rather massacre, at Peskeompskut, or Turners Falls, May 19, 1676.

47. In the northwesterly part of Greenfield, now called Greenfield Meadows.

48. The mill referred to was on the site of the present Green River mill, which has been so occupied since 1715.

49. Hastings was a man of note in his day, living in Hatfield, where he was born, Sept. 24, 1679, and died April 14, 1728. A woeful elegy on his death, lamenting this public loss, can be seen in Memorial Hall. There was no doctor in Deerfield for more than fifty years after the first settlement.

50. Williams received the honorary degree of D. D. from Dartmouth, in 1773.

51. John Wheelock, LL.D., was born in Lebanon, Ct., Jan. 28, 1754; was graduated from Dartmouth in the first class, in 1773; was prominent in the first half of the Revolutionary War, both in military and civil service. His father was the first president of Dartmouth and the son succeeded him in that office at the age of 25.

52. At the date of this letter, Dr. Williams was in his 87th year, and had been preaching 66 years.